2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

ECONOMICS

The *Cayapa* economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familially, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance, they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seem to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machetes and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorean and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tagua nuts, and other forest products. Cocoa is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: canoes, mats, fans, and other basketry. In exchange, the *Cayapa* want metal goods: axes, machetes, shotguns, fishhooks, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, vests, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslins and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The *Cayapa* are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorean economy. Their need for metal goods and trinkets has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been menaced. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic *Cayapa* social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Napa's house at Punta Venado could seat some 40-odd people at a feast, but it was unique in size, and the Napa household according to Basurco (1894) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1925) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the *Cayapa*. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "lineal" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

The lineal and descriptive nature of the kinship system emphasizes the bilateral character of the *Cayapa* family. There is no clan organization. The extended family household is the truly basic social unit. There is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

It is then roughly hollowed out with the ax, the sides and bottom being left considerably thicker than is desired in the finished canoe. Frequently it is necessary to do this part of the work at a considerable distance from the river, and even at a considerable elevation above one of the small creeks or esteros tributary to the river. Such was the case with the large canoe shown in pls. LXX, LXXI, which was made at a distance of nearly three miles from the river and two and a half miles from the navigable waters of the nearest estero. Furthermore, the tree from which the canoe was fashioned grew near the top of a ridge about three hundred and fifty feet above the floor of the narrow valley of the estero, and the sides of this ridge were so steep that it was necessary to snub the canoe down to the estero by means of a couple of stout cables. Having worked out such a canoe to approximately its final form, it is turned up on one side and bound to one or two vertical stakes, as shown in pl. LXX. At the same time it is raised a few inches off the ground by means of blocks in order to prevent rotting. It is then allowed to dry and cure in the shade for several weeks.

Finally the owner invites a number of friends to join in hauling the canoe to a point where it may be floated. This task may be a comparatively simple one if the canoe is practically on a level with the river, but if it is at a considerable elevation, much care is needed. Also, the size of the canoe is an important factor. A small canoe may be hauled by one or two persons; but a large one, say one twenty-five or thirty feet in

case the leaves are brought to the site by hand. Many times the leaves have to be freighted on the river; for these occasions two canoes are joined by heavy bamboo poles, thus forming a raft, and the leaves are piled on top to a height of four to five feet. Two men then pilot the raft, one from the rear and one from the front. When the site is reached, the raft is tied to a paddle which is thrust into the bank, and the leaves are handed up a human chain composed of five to ten people extending from the raft to the actual house site.

342
[501]

[476]

342
171

In contrast to the Negro houses Cayapa houses mostly lack walls. Because of this, Cayapa home life is much more open to Negro inspection than is the reverse. In regard to construction, the Cayapa never use wood planking. Negroes, on the other hand, regard wooden planking for the floors and walls as a sign of wealth and try to have at least some planking. The underside of the house for both Negroes and Indians serves as a storage area for the canoes.

[504]

When they are off in the bush for several days hunting, or when roughing out a canoe, the Cayapa build

342

time this passes. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no direction as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other co-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary work-visits a man works for his in-laws in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

592
606

[594]
[476]
[241]

[607]
[476]

Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

592
602

Compadrazgo. The indisputable mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institutions

608
177
795

Once a year, as a rule,

groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and zapotes. Large sections are planted to the ñame palm that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The ñame nut is only a minor item in the